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Action

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Rec'd: OCTOBER 24, 1962
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SS TO: Secretary of State

G NO: 1434, OCTOBER 23, MIDNIGHT.

L H SAL PASS WHITE HOUSE

AF FOL IS UN PRESS SUMMARY ZORIN SPEECH TODAY. ALL TEXT NOT YET
ARA AVAILABLE.

EUR

FE NEA DAC P USIA NSC INR CIA NSA OSD ARMY NAVY AIR NIC RMR

ZORIN "OFFICIALLY CONFIRMED STATEMENT OF USSR GOVT THAT IT HAD NOT
AND WAS NOT DIRECTING TO CUBA ANY OFFENSIVE ARMAMENT. "ARMS"
SENT TO CUBA WERE DESIGNED PURELY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES."
"SOV GOVT (TODAY) HAD ONCE AGAIN DECLARED ASSISTANCE TO
CUBA WAS ONLY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES." STATEMENT DID NOT
REPEAT NOT SAY SOVS HAD NOT SENT MRBMS OR IRBMS. AT ONE
POINT ZORIN IN FACT INDIRECTLY CONFIRMED CHARGES BY SAVING
US WAS DEMANDING "THAT CUBA REMOVE THE TECHNOLOGY NEEDED TO
DEFEND ITSELF FROM UNITED STATES AGGRESSION."

THE PRESIDENT THEN MADE A STATEMENT AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE USSR.

MR. ZORIN (USSR) SAID THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE HAD MADE
A STATEMENT WHICH SHOWED THE "TOTAL HELPLESSNESS" OF THE UNITED
STATES IN DEFENDING ITS POSITION BEFORE THE COUNCIL AND
IN THE FACE OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION.THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, HE WENT ON, HAD "FALSIFIED"
THE HISTORY OF POSTWAR RELATIONS AND HAD TRIED TO DENIGRATE
THE POSITION OF THE USSR. MR. STEVENSON HAD ALSO SPOKEN ABOUT
THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, THOUGH ONE WONDERED WHAT RIGHT THE
UNITED STATES HAD TO DISCUSS THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CUBA.
THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, HE DECLARED, HAD MENTIONED
THE "POLICY OF THE BIG STICK" AND PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
THE "POLICY OF THE BIG STICK" WAS BEING TRIED BY THE UNITED
STATES TODAY BUT TIMES HAD CHANGED.MR ZORIN ASSERTED THAT THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE HAD
FAILED TO SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD BASES IN 35
COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, APPROPRIATING TO ITSELF THE ROLE OF
"WORLD POLICEMAN."UNCLASSIFIEDREPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS
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MR. STEVENSON, HE WENT ON, HAD SAID NOTHING ABOUT LEGAL GROUNDS IN THE CHARTER TO JUSTIFY THE "AGGRESSIVE" ACTS OF THE LAST 24 HOURS AGAINST THE SMALL CUBAN STATE. THIS WAS NATURAL, FOR THERE WAS NO DEFENSE, DECLARED MR. ZORIN. THE UNITED STATES STATEMENT SHOWED NO POSITIVE IDEAS. THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE HAD SPOKEN FOR "A BAND OF AGGRESSIVE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS."

MR. ZORIN SAID HE WOULD NOT ENTER INTO POLEMICS WITH MR. STEVENSON, FOR THE UNITED STATES STATEMENT WAS ONLY A "SMOKESCREEN" TO DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE "FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS" OF THE CHARTER BY THE UNITED STATES. HE WOULD NOT ANSWER ALL THE "BALD AND FALSE" STATEMENTS ABOUT USSR POLICY; HE WOULD NOT DEGRADE HIS OWN STATEMENT BY ANSWERING THEM.

THE USSR REPRESENTATIVE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE COUNCIL MET IN THE "GRAVEST CIRCUMSTANCES" FOR THE PEACE OF THE CARIBBEAN AND THE WHOLE WORLD. THE UNITED STATES HAD TAKEN "A NEW AND HIGHLY DANGEROUS ACT OF AGGRESSION" IN A LONG CHAIN OF SUCH ACTS AGAINST CUBA. THE UNITED STATES, SAID MR. ZORIN, HAD SET UP ANAVAL BLOCKADE OF CUBA, "TRAMPLING UNDER FOOT" THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER.

CONTINUING, MR. ZORIN (USSR) SAID THE UNITED STATES HAD ARROGATED TO ITSELF THE RIGHT TO ATTACK SHIPS ON THE HIGH SEAS IN A "NAKED ACT OF PIRACY." AT THE SAME TIME, TROOPS HAD BEEN SENT TO GUANTANAMO AND OTHER TROOPS HAD BEEN PLACED IN A STATE OF MILITARY READINESS.

IN ORDER TO "STRANGLE" CUBA, HE WENT ON, THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED "TO PUSH THE WORLD TO THE BRINK OF NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE."

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, HE NOTED, HAD ISSUED A SERIOUS WARNING TO THE UNITED SATES GOVERNMENT ABOUT ITS "RASH PLAYING WITH FIRE." IN THIS CONNECTION, HE QUOTED FROM THE STATEMENT MADE ON THIS QUESTION BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT (DOC. S/5186).

MR. ZORIN SAID HE HAD CARRIED OUT THE INSTRUCTIONS OF HIS GOVERNMENT IN PLACING THE PRESENT ITEM ON THE COUNCIL'S AGENDA.

HE NOTED THAT THE USSR STATEMENT APPEALED TO ALL GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES TO RAISE THEIR VOICE AGAINST THE "AGGRESSIVE" ACTS OF THE UNITED STATES, TO CONDEMN THEM AND TO PREVENT THE UNLEASHING OF A NUCLEAR WAR.

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THE CUBAN AND USSR REQUESTS TO THE COUNCIL WERE THE CLEAR-CUT MATTERS ON WHICH THE COUNCIL MUST MAKE A JUDGMENT, HE DECLARED. THESE DIFFERED, AS NIGHT DID FROM DAY, FROM THE "HYPOCRITICAL" UNITED STATES LETTER TO THE COUNCIL. THE UNITED STATES HAD ALREADY TAKEN MILITARY ACTION AND NOW IT CYNICALLY TRIED TO TAKE ON THE ROLE OF PEACEMAKER.

THE NEW UNITED STATES ACTION WAS THE LOGICAL LINK TO THE POLICY CARRIED OUT UNDER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, WHICH WAS INTENSIFIED BY THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION, HE STATED. THIS JUSTIFIED THE NUMEROUS ACCUSATIONS MADE IN THE UNITED NATIONS BY CUBA ABOUT THE "AGGRESSION OF THE UNITED STATES."

MR. ZORIN SAID THE COUNCIL HAD FIRST DISCUSSED THESE CUBAN ACCUSATIONS IN JULY 1960. OTHER DISCUSSIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN JANUARY 1961.

THE GENUINE VALUE OF THE UNITED STATES DENIALS REGARDING A PLAN OF "AGGRESSION" AGAINST CUBA WAS SHOWN IN APRIL 1961 WHEN THE UNITED STATES HAD ORGANIZED, PREPARED AND CARRIED OUT AN INTERVENTION BY MERCENARIES IN CUBA, HE ASSERTED. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE "APRIL FIASCO" EVENTUALLY WAS ASSUMED OFFICIALLY BY THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENT, HE ADDED.

HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES HAD LEARNED NO LESSONS FROM THAT "FIASCO", HE WENT ON. THE UNITED STATES HAD ILLEGITIMATELY USED THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES AND THIS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED BY THE COUNCIL IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1962.

MR. ZORIN (USSR), CONTINUING, SAID MR. STEVENSON HAD ON EARLIER OCCASIONS -- IN APRIL 1961 -- TAKEN ON THE "UNSEEMLY ROLE" OF COVERING UP FOR UNITED STATES "AGGRESSION." HE HAD HYPOCRITICALLY DENIED TO THE UNITED NATIONS THAT ANY AGGRESSION WAS PLANNED AT A TIME WHEN AN INVASION OF CUBA WAS TAKING PLACE. HE ASKED WHAT WORTH THERE WAS IN THE STATEMENTS OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF A GREAT POWER WHICH DARED TO DECEIVE THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES TODAY, HE WENT ON, WAS NO LONGER MAKING DENIALS OF UNILATERAL ACTIONS. A NEW ARGUMENT WAS USED, TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE WERE SOVIET ROCKETS IN CUBA. THE ORDERS HAD BEEN TO FIND SUCH A NEW ARGUMENT TO JUSTIFY UNITED STATES "AGGRESSION."

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MR. ZORIN SAID THE FALSITY OF THE UNITED STATES ARGUMENT WAS ALL TOO OBVIOUS. IT WAS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE DEPTH OF THE CYNICISM OF THE "NEW FRONTIER" IN THE UNITED STATES, HE STATED.

MR. ZORIN SAID HE OFFICIALLY CONFIRMED THE STATEMENT OF THE USSR GOVERNMENT THAT IT HAD NOT AND WAS NOT DIRECTING TO CUBA ANY OFFENSIVE ARMAMENT. ARMS SENT TO CUBA WERE DESIGNED PURELY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES BECAUSE THE USSR HAD SO POWERFUL A SERIES OF ROCKETS THAT IT DID NOT NEED TO SEEK ANY TERRITORY OUTSIDE THE USSR FOR LAUNCHING THEM.

HE REAFFIRMED MR. GROMYKO'S STATEMENT TO THE ASSEMBLY THAT EVERYONE KNEW THAT CUBA WAS NOT ACCUMULATING ARMS POSING A THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES OR THE PANAMA CANAL.

THE COUNCIL, HE SAID SHOULD ALSO RECALL PRESIDENT DORTICOS' STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT CUBA WAS OBLIGED TO ARM, NOT IN ORDER TO ATTACK ANYBODY, BUT TO DEFEND ITSELF.

ONLY TODAY, HE ADDED, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD ONCE AGAIN DECLARED THAT ASSISTANCE TO CUBA WAS ONLY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. THE JOINT USSR-CUBA STATEMENT ON THIS ASSISTANCE HAD SAID IT WAS PURELY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAD REAFFIRMED THAT STAND. THE REASON WHY THE USSR HAD ASSISTED CUBA, HE DECLARED, WAS BECAUSE, EVER SINCE ITS REVOLUTION, IT HAD BEEN THREATENED BY THE UNITED STATES.

MR. ZORIN (USSR) CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS TRYING TO FIND SOME SORT OF EXCUSE "TO COMMIT FURTHER AND MUCH MORE FAR-REACHING ACTS OF AGGRESSION."

ARTICLE 2(4) OF THE CHARTER STATED THAT ALL STATES MUST ABSTAIN FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE INTEGRITY OF ANOTHER STATE, HE WENT ON. HOWEVER, THE "MILITARY BLOCKADE" OF CUBA AND OTHER MEASURES OF THE UNITED STATES WERE SUCH THREATS OF FORCE AGAINST CUBA. THERE HAD BEEN THE "MOST FLAGRANT" VIOLATION OF THIS ARTICLE.

MR. ZORIN SAID THE UNITED STATES "FABRICATIONS" WERE ATTEMPTS TO GET THE COUNCIL TO APPROVE RETROACTIVELY ITS UNILATERAL "AGGRESSIVE" ACTS AGAINST CUBA.

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THE UNITED STATES HAD "MADE A STEP TOWARD THE UNLEASHING OF A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR WAR," HE DECLARED. THAT WAS THE PRICE THE WORLD MIGHT HAVE TO PAY FOR THE NEW "RECKLESS ACTS" OF THE UNITED STATES.

HE SAID THE UNITED STATES HAD TAKEN ITS ACTION BEFORE APPEALING TO THE COUNCIL BECAUSE IT KNEW THAT THE COUNCIL COULD NOT, AND WOULD NOT, BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE "AGGRESSION". THE UNITED STATES HAD TRIED TO PRESENT THE COUNCIL WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI AND MAKE A CYNICAL GESTURE TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION.

THE UNITED STATES HAD NOT PRESENTED ANY PROOF OF ITS ASSERTIONS, MR. ZORIN CONTINUED. THAT WAS BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES KNEW THAT THE COUNCIL WOULD NOT APPROVE ITS ACTIONS. IN ANY CASE, THE UNITED STATES WAS ALREADY CARRYING OUT ITS UNILATERAL BLOCKADE.

THE UNITED STATES HAD SENT TROOPS TO CUBAN TERRITORY AT GUANTANAMO, HE ASSERTED. IT HAD ALSO STATED THAT IT WOULD TAKE "FURTHER ACTIONS" AGAINST CUBA WHENEVER IT FOUND THAT NECESSARY.

THE UNITED STATES WAS TRYING TO RESERVE ITS RIGHT TO "CONTINUE OPEN MILITARY AGGRESSION AGAINST CUBA," HE STATED.

MR. ZORIN SAID THE PRINCIPAL ASPECT OF THE PRESENT "RECKLESS ACTS" WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO UNLEASH A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR WAR TO CARRY ON ITS "AGGRESSION" AGAINST CUBA. MR. STEVENSON, HE STATED, HAD SAID THAT WORLD PEACE WAS AT STAKE. THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO "GO TO THE BRINK," RISKING THE FATE OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

THE APPREHENSIONS OF PEACE-LOVING FORCES IN THE WORLD HAD BEEN JUSTIFIED, HE SAID.

DURING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S GENERAL DEBATE, CONTINUED MR. ZORIN (USSR), HEADS OF DELEGATIONS HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE UNITED STATES ACTIONS REGARDING CUBA.

HE QUOTED FROM STATEMENTS BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, ALGERIA AND IRAQ, IN THIS REGARD. THEY HAD STATED THAT CUBA MUST BE ALLOWED TO CHOOSE ITS OWN WAY OF LIFE, HE ADDED.

THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE SAID THAT BY ITS "ARBITRARY PIRATICAI ACT" THE UNITED STATES HAD THREATENED THE SHIPPING

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OF MANY COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ITS ALLIES WHO DID NOT AGREE WITH ITS "RECKLESS POLICY." THE UNITED STATES HAD THROWN A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE COUNCIL.

THE UNITED STATES WAS DICTATING TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES AND OPENLY VIOLATING THE PREROGATIVES OF THE COUNCIL, WHICH ALONE COULD CALL FOR ANY ENFORCEMENT MEASURES, HE CONTINUED. THE UNITED STATES HAD OPENLY VIOLATED THE CHARTER AND, IN SHOWING TOTAL INDIFFERENCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ACTION, IT HAD THREATENED WORLD PEACE.

THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD SENT A LETTER TO THE COUNCIL WAS AN "ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN COMPOSURE WHILE LOSING THE GAME," HE SAID. THE UNITED STATES HAD KNOWN IT WOULD HAVE TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COUNCIL IN ANY CASE, FOR THE UNITED NATIONS COULD NOT HAVE IGNORED THE "BLOCKADE" AND ITS CHALLENGE, HE DECLARED.

THE UNITED STATES WAS "OPENLY INSTALLING THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS", HE ASSERTED.

IT DEMANDED THAT CUBA REMOVE THE TECHNOLOGY NEEDED TO DEFEND ITSELF FROM UNITED STATES "AGGRESSION."

THE UNITED STATES SEEMED TO THINK IT WAS CALLED UPON TO PUNISH THOSE WHO HELD NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE USSR, HE SAID. IN THAT CASE, HE WONDERED WHETHER MR. STEVENSON WOULD NOW PUNISH HIMSELF.

HE SAID THE UNITED STATES HAD OPENLY EMBARKED ON A COURSE OF LIQUIDATING THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF UNLEASHING A WORLD WAR.

MR. ZORIN ADDED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD EMBARKED ON "PIRACY" LEADING TO A GREAT INTENSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL FRICTION. NO SELF-RESPECTING STATE WOULD TOLERATE INTERFERENCE WITH ITS SHIPS.

FROM THE VERY FIRST DAYS OF ITS EXISTENCE, HE WENT ON, THE PRESENT CUBAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN THREATENED BY THE UNITED STATES. THE "AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS" OPENLY SAID THEY WANTED TO FORCE THEIR POLICY ON OTHERS.

MR. ZORIN (USSR) WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE USSR SPOKE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM ALL TERRITORIES. THIS WOULD NORMALIZE

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BUT, HE SAID, THE UNITED STATES SUBBORNLY REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL. THE UNITED STATES USED ITS TROOPS TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS.

THE USSR, HE SAID, CALLED FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF ALL FOREIGN BASES AND WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS. IT WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THIS BEING DONE IN THE PRESENCE OF UNITED NATIONS OBSERVERS.

MR. ZORIN SAID NO STATE HAD THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHICH TYPE OF ARMAMENT A STATE REQUIRED FOR ITS DEFENSE. EACH STATE, UNDER THE CHARTER, HAD THE RIGHT TO TAKE SUCH ACTION. AT THE REQUEST OF CUBA THE USSR HAD PROVIDED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND HAD NO MILITARY PLANS FOR THAT PART OF THE WORLD. IT MERELY WISHED TO SEE THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA STRENGTHENED.

HIS GOVERNMENT, HE SAID, APPEALED TO ALL PEOPLE TO RAISE THEIR VOICE IN DEFENSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND NOT PERMIT ITS LIQUIDATION. THE COUNCIL MUST URGENTLY HALT ALL OF THE "AGGRESSIVE" MEASURES OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST CUBA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

HE THEN INTRODUCED A DRAFT RESOLUTION (SEPARATE TEL).

MR. ZORIN (USSR) THEN SAID HE WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES RESOLUTION (DOC. S/5182) WHICH, HE SAID, WAS AN UNPRECEDENTED ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY RETROACTIVELY AN "AGGRESSIVE" ACTION.

THE "HEROIC" COUNTRY OF CUBA, HE WENT ON, WOULD NOT REMAIN ALONE AT THIS DIFFICULT HOUR; IT COULD ALWAYS COUNT ON SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE FROM THE USSR, WHOSE WARNINGS TO THE ENEMIES OF CUBA "REMAIN IN FORCE TODAY."

STEVENSON

BA

NOTE: PASSED THE WHITE HOUSE 10-24-62.

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